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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Asia**

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***Southeast Asia***  
***Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN***  
***No 11, November 1989***

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**Some Problems in Building Social France in the  
New Situation**

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[Article by Chen Shun, published in 1986 Sub 00-000,  
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**The Political System Must Be Studied and  
Reformed Based on Scientific Foundations**

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**Democracy and Dictatorship in the Country's  
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[Article by Li Qiang, not translated]

**The Problem of Systems Analysis in Formulating  
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[Article by Tran Ngoc Hien, not translated]  
No 11, Nov 88 pp 28-33, 38

[Article by Tran Ngoc Hien, not translated]

**On the Role of the Law of Value in Vietnam**

[Article by Leung Nam Quy and Nguyen Van Thuring,  
not translated]  
No 11, Nov 88 pp 28-30

[Article by Leung Nam Quy and Nguyen Van Thuring,  
not translated]

## Exchange of Opinions

### The Problem of Organizing the Party Branches and Party Members in the Rural Areas

Editorial Board: TAP (198) CPHC 545  
in *Communist No. 11, Nov 88 pp 30-37*

[Text] Editor's note: In today's revolutionary movement, the tasks of solidifying and building party branches and improving the quality of the ranks of party members in the rural areas are posing many new questions, questions that must be studied and answered. Recently, the Party Building Committee of TAP (198) CPHC 545 did a study and directly exchanged ideas with a number of rural branch directors and one CPV (Communist Party of Vietnam) committee member about these problems. Below are the contents of these discussions.

[Reporter] Would you tell us about the real situation with respect to the party branch and party members in the rural areas of our districts and the steps that will be taken to solve the problems in the coming period?

[Text] Truong Dong, the 5th District CPV Committee Secretary: During the past three to five years, since the 6th Party Congress, the 10th Congress of the Municipal Party Organization, and the 6th Congress of our District Party Organization, party organization and building in the branch has gradually changed and scored a number of outcome results, especially in strengthening organization and improving the quality of the party members. Because of this, from the branch to the district, notable results have been achieved in implementing the political tasks.

However, it must also be admitted that as compared with the requirements of the political tasks, party building and consolidation in the branch has not kept pace with the new situation and tasks. The changes in the party branch have been slow and uneven, especially in the village party organizations. There are still many weak party branches, perhaps as many as 30 percent. And many places have been weak for many years. The combat with power and spirit of responsibility of a rather large percentage of the party members is weak. There are "bulging" points that require effective action. The following manifestations are common in villages where the party branch and party members are weak:

The political tasks have not been completed, production and business are weak, and incomes are low and unstable. Political security and social order are not good, the policies and laws have not been implemented seriously, and obligations have not been fulfilled. The party organizations have not maintained the three characteristics: leadership, education, and combat. The contents of the activities have not been improved, and the activities are not practical. Specific tasks have not been assigned to the party members. In places where tasks have been assigned, there is a lack of control, and some places have allowed party members to commit disciplinary infractions without being punished. In many

places, the organization of the party chapters subordinated to the village party organizations is inappropriate, and the party chapters lack sufficient combat strength. In some places, the party committee elections have lacked credibility for a long time, they have done nothing to renovate work methods, and leadership is ineffective.

In carrying on activities, the authorities are lax and inefficient, and they show right-wing tendencies. The activities of the mass organizations lack coordination, and the contents of the activities are monotonous and ineffective.

Party members are not trained in all respects, and there are many manifestations of conservatism and inactivity. Party members lack a concept of organization and discipline, they are selfish and fear difficulties and renovation, and they are guilty of right-wing deviations and familyism.

The main causes of this situation are:

The ranks of lay cadres in the branch have not been strengthened, and they have not maintained the standards. From the CPV committee to the chapter committees, the party committee elections are weak in terms of both leadership and managerial standards, and the party organizations and party chapters have not played their role as leaders and centers of solidarity.

Economic construction and production guidelines and the production structure are wrong. The material and cultural life is too weak to ensure that the political tasks are implemented.

Many party members do not fully understand the procedures and policies of the party and state, particularly the recently promulgated policies on economic management. This has given rise to concepts of localism and private enterprise, had a bad influence on solidarity in the rural areas, and obstructed carrying out the tasks of the party.

The district CPV committee and staff committees of the party committee elections do not have effective policies or measures to help the branch gradually overcome their weaknesses and shortcomings.

Recently, the Seventh Congress of our district party organizations put forth the following targets: By 1990, 60-70 percent of the party branches in the district must have a rating of good and strong, and two-fifths of the party organizations and three-fifths of the party chapters must be strong. There must be no more weak party organizations or party chapters. Weak or degraded party members and those who do not have the qualifications of party members must not be allowed to remain in the party. The percentage of average and ineffective party members must be reduced.

In order to hit these targets, the District CPV Committee is concentrating on leading all the party organizations in efficiently implementing the resolution of the Fifth

Plenum of the CPV Central Committee, with the key aspect being to build and solidify the party bases with respect to the following:

First, the quality of the party members must be improved.

We require every party member to train and practice regularly and cultivate themselves with respect to culture, politics, ideology, techniques, and the lines and policies of the party. They must set an example in implementing the resolutions and directives of the party and get the masses to implement these, too. They must set an example in daily life, oppose conservative thinking, overcome the decline in combat will power, take steps to correct the concept of organization and discipline, and oppose their own negative actions and those of their comrades. This includes opposing corruption and factionalism.

With the exception of a number of old and weak party members whom the party chapters and party organizations have revised, all party members must accept one or more tasks assigned by the chapter. Each party member must take responsibility for a number of households in order to lead and educate them, make them aware, and introduce superior people to the party chapters for recruitment into the party.

Each party member must participate regularly in party activities, discuss things actively, and contribute ideas to building the party chapter and formulating economic and social development plans. Criticism and self-criticism must be carried on seriously during party activities. Each six months and each year, reviews must be made based on the needs of the party chapters, and they must rate themselves.

Those party members who have shortcomings and who are not qualified to be a party member must review things and actively correct their shortcomings within six months. If they fail to do so, they must voluntarily request to leave the party or submit to the mode of treatment specified by the party organization.

Second, the leadership capabilities and combat strength of the party organizations must be solidified and improved.

Each party organization must clearly manifest its role in leading the implementation of the political tasks, providing political and ideological education, educating the party members about the lines, policies, and positions of the party and state, and closely managing the party members with respect to ideology, organization, work, and activities.

The party chapters must adhere to the activity periods and ensure that activities are carried out once a month (from three to five days a month) in order to study the resolutions and directives of higher echelons, review the situation, engage in criticism and self-criticism, gain experience, and discuss the guidelines and coming tasks.

Each period, the number of party members in each party chapter must be checked in order to arrange them and assign tasks to them in an efficient manner.

The leadership tasks must be carried on based on the motto: concentrate on finishing each job and providing all-round leadership.

The records system must be improved. Every six months and every year, a meeting must be held to review and classify the party members and to grade the party chapters.

The party organizations must continue to study things, implement the leadership tasks and functions of the party committee echelons and the managerial and administrative functions of the administration, strengthen leadership with respect to the mass organizations, and overcome the situation in which people cover for others or become bogged down in administrative work.

Things must be examined in order to have forms of organization and activities suited to each party member target direct production, the aged and infirm, little labor strength, revised, and so on).

Once every three months or six months or whenever a major event takes place, party organization activities can be organized so that the party members can study the resolutions and directives, and learn to current events information (this does not include extraordinary meetings).

Control must be strengthened.

In order to carry out the above tasks well, we must regularly give attention to improving the activities of the chapter and party committees.

For its part, in providing leadership and guidance, our district CPV committee is giving much attention to assigning tasks to the members of the district CPV committee in charge of the areas, village clusters, and villages, manifesting the role of the party committee echelon staff committees, and coordinating things closely with the administrative echelons, sector committees, and mass organizations.

[Reporter] Is implementing Resolution 10 of the Politburo on renovating economic management in agriculture, in what ways should the party bases in the rural areas renovate the contents of the activities, forms of organization, and leadership methods?

[Nguyen Duy Huan, Phuc Tho District CPV Committee Secretary] Here, I would like to mention three problems:

1. Clearly understanding and correctly carrying out the functions and tasks of the party organizations and chapters.

Today, there is confusion between the core leadership functions and political directions of the party organizations and the state management functions of the authorities and economic management functions of the cooperatives. In the rural areas, party organizations commonly become involved in every activity. In many places, the party committee echelons interfere with the authorities. But conversely, in those places where the village chairman or cooperative director are more talented than the secretary, the leadership of the party committee echelons is weak. This is not in line with the spirit of Resolution 10, which states that "party bases must not interfere in the specific work of the administrative organizations."

This situation is due to an erroneous viewpoint. People holding this viewpoint feel that in leading the administration, the party must be involved in everything, give an opinion on every problem, and decide everything. This situation is also due to the limitations and difficulties in determining the functions of the party organizations, authorities, and mass organizations; to the lack of familiarity with the economic and social management measures, with the emphasis being on administrative measures and commands; to the poor standards and limited capabilities of the primary level cadres; and to the fact that the cadres have not been given systematic training.

The problem is to enable the party organizations and chapters, particularly the party committees and chapter committees, to adhere to their functions and tasks.

## 2. The form of organization of the party chapters:

Today, there are many different ideas about this problem and many different forms of organization within a single district and between one district and another and one province and another.

For example, from what I know, in Vinh Phu and Ha Nam Ninh, there are a number of districts that have organized two types of party chapters: party chapters that directly lead production and party chapters that do not directly participate in production (including retired and incapacitated party members who do not engage in production directly).

Based on the actual situation in the localities, it can be seen that such organizational methods are both complex and ineffective because of the many disadvantages.

We know that when quotas are given to households, retired and incapacitated people are still members of the family. What is difficult to accept is that even though the production tasks and jobs are the same, party members in the same family are active in two different places. Moreover, recently, in the rural areas the number of party members who have retired or stopped working but who are still healthy and who are still the pillar of the family has increased greatly.

On the other hand, if the party chapters are divided into two types, the number of party members engaged in

direct production in each unit will be too small, and things will be very complex. In some places, there are up to four generations within one party chapter. Or there are several married couples and their children. Or a party chapter composed of seven people may have five people who are related to each other. This limits the combat and educational character of the party chapter.

Those party members who are retired or incapacitated cadres are usually experienced people who have worked in many localities and spheres. If they are allowed to engage in activities, this will combine many generations and many sources of "brainpower." Because of this, the party committee echelons must improve their standards in order to answer the theoretical and practical questions raised by party members. This is extremely important. Furthermore, today's ranks of party members are not overly concerned about rights. Because of this, they are usually resolute and straightforward in struggling against negative phenomena. At the same time, they also have great abilities in carrying out the organizational and ideological tasks at the bases.

Finally, dividing the party chapters into two types could easily lead to opposition between the two forces of party members in the same location.

For all of the reasons mentioned above, we should organize just one type of party chapter, those that directly lead the production units. The problem is how to carry out the ideological work well, mobilize people, and avoid being prejudiced against those party members who are retired and incapacitated cadres.

## 3. The form of organization of the party organizations:

I will make only a few remarks about this. Reality in a number of places shows that it is essential to organize party organizations at three echelons (village party organizations, section party organizations, and party chapters) and determine their effects. But reality has also shown the many "shortcomings" of this form. Above all, this form creates a middleman, with the result that the work is often behind schedule and jobs are often shifted from one person to another. Communicating resolutions and directives from higher echelons to lower echelons and communicating reactions from the bottom up is often interrupted and things are even distorted. The sectional party committees pull along mass organizations and so things are very cumbersome and formal. As a result, the party work done by a party organization is limited and slow. The terms of office of the sectional party committees are often not in line with the terms of office of the cooperative management boards, and this makes it difficult to arrange the personnel and formulate leadership guidelines. In my view, which is supported by reality, only two echelons—village party organizations and party chapters—should be organized.

[Reporter] Today, the number of party members in the rural party organizations who are retired or incapacitated cadres, workers, civil servants, or servicemen is increasing. In your view, are these party members an "asset" or a "liability?"

[Do Hung Khanh, Thach That District CPV Committee Secretary] Whether a person is an asset or a liability depends on two "ends." But this depends mainly on our attitude, conscience, and sense of responsibility. When I say "two ends" or "us" here, I am not separating or dividing things. This is just a convenient way of talking.

In order to answer this question, we must understand these party member targets.

The number of retired and incapacitated people is increasing. These forces possess many capabilities. The great majority of these people have been trained and tested, and they have standards. Many of these people have held high positions in party, state, or military organizations. If they are exploited, these people will continue to make positive contributions. But along with this, we must also mention the difficulties or important deficiencies of retired people in general and retired people living in rural areas in particular. I am referring to deficiencies in their material and spiritual lives, such as travel conditions, medical treatment, and recreational conditions, deficiencies in ways of making a living, and deficiencies concerning information. Unless prompt attention is given to these deficiencies, negative phenomena could easily arise among the retired people.

Another manifestation of these people is that they are "turning into peasants" very quickly. This is a problem that must be examined in great detail. The small-peasant plots of land and farming methods, added to the "shortage" and "lack" of information, are the factors that are exerting a great influence on this process. Because of this, there must be a social viewpoint when examining and evaluating things, and correct policies must be implemented with respect to these ranks.

However, it must be strongly affirmed that the positive aspects of the retired party members are still paramount. Many of these people still have and continue to manifest their revolutionary character, they have prestige and a concept of building the party and their native villages, they live an exemplary life, and they are notable forces in the struggle against negative phenomena.

Returning to the question asked, as I said above, whether these ranks are an asset or a liability depends mainly on us. But it's difficult. We don't have much experience in dealing with this problem, and so it's that much more difficult. I would like to mention some of the things that we have done and are doing.

We feel that regardless of what is done, we should not and cannot separate these elements from society as a whole. As for within the party, separate party chapters should not be formed just for these targets, which is something that many places have done. If these people

are kept separate, separate party chapters will be formed, and the two types of party chapters—the party chapters composed of retired people and the party chapters composed of people who are producing and working—will accidentally be put in opposition to each other.

We have given high marks to party members who are retired cadres. Many of these people are very enthusiastic and active, and they are eager to help the cadres who hold positions at the bases. These people are an asset, a motive force, that we must grasp and exploit fully. We must mobilize these people and open each "door" so that these people can continue to participate in the work and activities at the bases in accord with their wishes and capabilities. Those who have worked in the locality for many years can write histories. Those in good health and who have political talents can engage in propaganda and training activities.

We have given attention to solidifying and building retirement clubs and village and district retirement liaison committees. More than 70 percent of the villages in our district have established retirement clubs, and of these, more than 30 percent are operating well. These liaison committees are responsible for looking after the lives of the retired people, organizing current events information sessions and debates, resolving internal conflicts, and maintaining quality.

Naturally, in order to do the above things well, a very important task is to conduct surveys and make classifications in order to improve understanding, have measures to make appropriate use of them, and have policies to treat them fairly. About 20-30 percent of the party members in the district party organizations are retired and incapacitated cadres, and in some places such as Huong Ngai Village, the percentage is as high as 50 percent. For these, we provide specific guidance through the retirement liaison committees and Bureau of War Invalids and Social Welfare. For example, we are managing retired and incapacitated party members who used to be district-level office heads and deputy heads or higher, and we have implemented suitable measures. As for those who used to hold the rank of major or lower, the district military committee has been entrusted with the task of visiting them on holidays and giving them presents.

In short, we feel that by treating them in a respectful and appropriate manner, we can exploit the potential of these forces.

[Reporter] What is the situation with respect to expanding the party at the primary-level party organizations of the localities? In your view, why do few rural youths want to join the party? How can this problem be solved?

[Nguyen Trung Nguyen, Hoai Duc District CPV Committee Secretary] I may have to use some alarming language when talking about the expansion of the party in our locality. Because the statistics show the situation quite clearly: 1986, 65; 1987, 42; 1988, 56; and for the

first six months of 1989, 23. And of the party members recently recruited into the party, fewer than 30 percent are below the age of 30. Many primary-level party organizations have not recruited new members for many years, even decades. The sources of new party members are drying up at a time when the number of youths is increasing. On the average, for every 100 youth union members, only two to three can be recruited into the party. A point worth noting is that perspective party members do not show any enthusiasm for joining the party. Many places have organized political training classes for targets of the party, but they have refused to attend the classes or have been negligent in their studies. A number of young party members who have recently returned after fulfilling their military obligation have failed to manifest an effect. These people account for a sizable percentage in the list of "average party members" in the party organizations: "First in sitting idly, second in keeping quiet." Recently, few young party members have been recruited on the spot, but those that have have not been used properly. In general, there are many limitations in expanding the party in the localities, particularly among the youths.

The main reason for this situation is that more and more youths want to escape from the rural areas. They think that work in the rural areas is very tiring and that they are disadvantaged in terms of material, cultural, and spiritual rights. They see nothing attractive about life there.

On the other hand, an ideological tendency that is becoming more and more widespread in society is the "economic race." Rural youths are caught up in this, too. They devote their mental powers to that and slight other problems, among which is the problem of striving to become party members.

Something else worth mentioning is that a number of older party members do not have the strength to attract and persuade them. Some party members have even set a bad example, and this has damaged the youths' confidence and idealism.

At the primary level, the Communist Youth Union has not made renovations or looked for themes or operating formulas to attract youths. The union has not performed its function as the party's reserve unit and helper.

The party committee echelons lack a sense of responsibility and have not given attention to or helped the union. Youth education and training is very weak. Many places and many people still hold narrow viewpoints and prejudices. Their idea is to "wait and take it easy." They are not actively involved in party development work.

Building the party actually means building organizations and communist party members. Building the party's people must start from expanding the party. Today, specific and appropriate standards for developing party members with the strength to satisfy the requirements of the new revolutionary stage, which encompasses the rural zone, have not been developed. On the other hand,

the realities of life require that the party's ranks of party members be renovated. Only if this is done will it be possible to replace the quality and combat strength of the party.

As for understanding, we must continue to clarify a number of important and key points.

In the national democratic revolution, if the party requires that its members be prepared to sacrifice themselves for national liberation, today, the party must recruit people who are conscious of communist ideals. At the same time, it must play an active role in commercial production, in the renovation movement pointed out at the Sixth Congress, in socialist construction, and in the defense of our socialist fatherland. That is the starting point in order to set standards and party development targets.

On the other hand, in the present age, at a time when the scientific and technical revolution is turning the world upside down, more than ever before, the party must manifest the intelligence of the present age. The party can be worthy of this only if recruits outstanding people from among the workers and peasants and other classes of laborers.

Attention must be focused on recruiting both manual and intellectual laborers who meet the standards, excellent managerial cadres, and excellent producers and businessmen.

What about the youth union and youths in the rural areas? As I said above, there are many worrisome aspects. Particularly worrisome is the fact that youths are indifferent to politics and want to escape (by any means and any path) from the rural areas. They don't want to have anything to do with the fields. In short, attention should be given to the problem of ideals and the concept of struggle with respect to youths. Responsibility for this rests above all with the party organizations, youth union, and mass organizations. The party in general and the rural party organizations in particular must give attention to this and solve this problem in a basic and synchronized manner.

With such an understanding, based on the real situation in the localities, we must strive to do everything we can and immediately begin solidifying the party bases and strengthening the party chapters and party chapter secretaries. The party member standards must be concretized in order to support party development. For example, in addition to the five tasks of party members as stipulated by party statute... we have concretized the following: Party members must be able to engender prosperity and, together with their families, engender prosperity. When they speak, the people must listen, and when they do something, the people must follow their lead. Party members and their families must set an example in carrying out the policies and lines of the party.

and state. Party members must have at least general middle school cultural standards. In implementing this, we are encountering difficulties, particularly in implementing the stipulations on cultural standards, but we are resolved to adhere to the plan.

The youth union must be solidified. Party members must monitor this directly, participate in union activities, and strengthen the ranks of union chapter secretaries. We regard building the youth union as one of the important standards for examining and evaluating the party chapters and primary level party organizations every year.

We are resolutely expelling party members who are not qualified to be in the party and who are having a bad influence on the rural areas, particularly on youths.

### Research

#### **A Number of Problems That Must Be Developed in Marxist-Leninist Theory**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 11, Nov 89 pp 38-44

[Article by Tran Duc Thao; not translated]

### Lessons From the Renovation of Literature

902E0179R Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 89 pp 45-47

[Article by Le Xuan Vu]

[Text] After the Sixth Party Congress, literary circles enthusiastically participated in renovation. Works flowed, and everything looked very promising. But not long after that, things became confused because of the feeling, "only I have renovated; you don't have the capabilities to renovate."

During the past period, there have been two different lines of thought and action that have been in conflict concerning directions, contents, and measures to renovate literature. But the platform has often been one-sided. I would like to summarize things as follows:

1. Most people say that literature must be renovated in all respects. It must become richer and more varied with respect to contents, ideas, artistic methods and styles, and managerial ranks and mechanisms. But it must remain revolutionary socialist literature that expresses the character of the Vietnamese nation and that has a party and people's nature, which is the type of literature that has for decades contributed to scoring victories and enriching life.

In carrying on renovation, the shortcomings and errors must be criticized and overcome. This includes the shortcomings and errors in leadership and managements. Literary works and authors who were previously evaluated incorrectly must be re-evaluated. But renovation is not just a matter of criticizing the old. More importantly, it is a matter of creating new works. As for evaluating the past, we must have an historical viewpoint. We must show respect for, inherit, and exploit the achievements of literature in prior revolutionary periods—the merits of our forefathers. We must avoid modernizing the past and evaluate the past based on the situation. As for creating new works, we must show respect and give people freedom to create works and make criticisms. People must have the freedom to engage in debates in searching for the truth. Literary leadership and control must be democratized without moving away from Marxist-Leninist viewpoints and the basic principles guiding the new culture.

In renovating literature, appropriate steps and quick action must be taken, and this must not be a cross-purposes with social renovation. Above all, efforts must be concentrated on writing in order to have many good works of great depth. At the same time, the leadership and managerial standards of the party and state must be improved, and the organization and operating formulas of the Writers Association must be renovated. Democracy must be boldly expanded much more, but this must be guided democracy. We must not be impatient, and we must avoid creating confusion and instability, which would have an adverse effect on renovation. People can hold different views and disagree with each other. But

because renovation is a common task and because this must become a part of the hearts and minds of everyone, we must discuss things democratically. There must be solidarity, with each person renovating himself and renovating together.

2. Others, taking a "broader approach," say that literature is eternal and that it is for everyone. They feel that mankind is superior to class and that literature must be placed above the proletariat if it is to be unfettered and not get lost, or, if it is already lost, to return to the mainstream of human civilization.

In concentrating on criticizing the past and criticizing leadership, some people have ignored or covered up the achievements of revolutionary literature, saying that that is not true literature but just "obligatory" literature, "support" literature, propaganda, "illustrative" and "court" material, because the tendency is to "unify arts and letters with politics" and because arts and letters leadership is "engrossed in orthodoxy." As a result, some people are "waiting for a true renovation" of Vietnamese literature after the "offensive" through republishing and disclosing works that were written during the time of the "masterpieces of humanity" or that were written underground during the past 30 years. This poses many problems irrespective of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. "Culture must be independent of politics" and "politics must not be at the disposal of arts and letters and vice versa." The two are like billiard balls, affecting each other only on the billiard table. Or, "in reality, the two are at the disposal of each other and are mutually dependent." This is a "relationship between 'tyrants' in society." Others say that literature's task is not to reflect reality. And some say that today's literature must concern itself with the fate of mankind and portray man's suffering and loneliness and his defeats. It must portray the common man and his hatreds and faults. Because for a long time now, literature has focused on people's resolve, will power, and strengths, and because the heroism and historical deeds belong to a specific period in time that is now past. Some say that writers should "not be asked why they wrote this short story or poem" and that "spiritual subjects should not be selected for the masses." Works should "have problems" in order to arouse public opinion and tell the truth so that the public and time can be the judge.

According to this, some people feel that renovation must be thoroughly democratized and that writers must be partners of the authorities. They must not fear confusion, because "from this democracy will come to have order and organization." Party members and writers must not be assembled prior to the Writers' Congress. That will ensure democracy. Also, there is no need to fear that the enemy will make use of this. Bringing up the enemy will just scare people. They feel that efforts must be concentrated on renovating organization and so every story can be released. The only concern should be for preparing the new executive committee of the Writers Association and for assigning cadres to various positions. People should be concerned about others using

publications to propagandize one-sided viewpoints, attacking those whom they don't like, and criticizing those who don't approve of them, that is, those who are afraid of renovation, who are only pretending to engage in renovation, and who are using the name "renovation" to block the new path.

Systematizing the situation as above is quite relative and general, but it does show the divergence of opinion and the sources of the complexity and confusion on the literary front, which have limited our achievements in renovating literature. At first, the differences of opinion were not very great, or they were just a matter of individual relationships. But unfortunately, in providing guidance, there has been a lack of specific, clear, and correct guidelines. And as Lenin once said, "small differences of opinion can become major differences if people continue holding to these, put them in the front row, and look for the sources and complicated relations. Every small difference of opinion can have great meaning if it is the starting point for making changes based on a number of these erroneous viewpoints and if these viewpoints and new differences of opinion are combined with anarchic actions."<sup>1</sup>

Today, realities both here and throughout the world have answered quite clearly the question of what is right and what is wrong. Along with the initial successes of literary renovation, the confusion on the literary front (which is, of course, not the main aspect of the situation) is confusion mainly about ideas and viewpoints and then about the publishing market and the commercialization of literature. Bad works have generated skepticism and pessimism and a loss of confidence. Activities are factional in nature. The lackeys of the enemy powers are trying to use this opportunity to generate opposition. The reform movements in a number of socialist countries have not developed in the ways desired, and the imperialists have launched all-round counter-attacks. All of these things have "convinced" us, aroused our vigilance, and dispelled the illusions of those who want to monopolize renovation and who think that renovation has been completed.

The realities of the past two years compel us to think and act in accord with the viewpoints of the party on renovation from the Sixth Party Congress to the resolutions of the sixth and seventh plenums of the Party Central Committee. We realize that carrying on renovation does not take place in a vacuum but in the very complex conditions of today's class struggle both here and abroad. Socialism is encountering major difficulties, and capitalism still has the capability to expand and crush socialism based on the plan: "1999: Victory Without War." The capitalists are gloating over the "demise of communism throughout the world." We must always affirm the socialist direction of renovation and must unite to form a bloc under the leadership of the party in order to continue promoting renovation, to continue expanding democracy, and to achieve success in renovation. I think that this is the lesson to be learned from the practices in renovating literature during the past two

years. There is nothing new to consider concerning principles but [these things are] lively, useful, and filled with persuasive force.

#### Footnote

1. Lenin: "Collected Works, Progress Publish House, Moscow, 1979, volume 8, page 283.

#### Renovating the Financial Management Mechanism

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 89 pp 48-52, 57

[Article by Vo Dinh Hao; not translated]

#### The Direction of the State Forests

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 89 pp 53-57

[Article by Nguyen Danh An; not translated]

#### Military Region 3 Builds Reserve Forces and Militia and Self-Defense Forces in the New Situation

902E0179C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 89 pp 58-62

[Article by Senior Colonel Vu Dinh Dien, deputy chief of staff of Military Region 3]

[Text] In general, building people's armed forces must satisfy the requirements of the national defense and security tasks in accord with the capabilities of the economy. Today, our economy is encountering serious difficulties, and, therefore, it is impossible to satisfy fully the great needs concerning national defense and security. We recently reduced the size of our standing army as necessary. The important problem is how to reduce the size of the standing army while at the same time solidifying national defense and security, maintaining self-sufficiency in every situation, and above all, defeating the enemy's war of destruction. In order to satisfy these requirements, the important thing is that we must build strong reserve forces and militia and self-defense forces throughout the country. This is one of our policies that manifests the renovation of the party in organizing our defenses to defend the fatherland and manifesting our tradition of "civilian in peacetime, soldier in wartime" in the nation's "civilian-soldier" plan, which is in accord with the country's present situation and the tendencies of today.

Renovating that very important work is an urgent task, and it is in accord with the traditions of Military Region 3, which covers the six provinces of Quang Ninh, Haiphong, Thai Binh, Ha Nam Ninh, Ha Son Binh, and Hai Hung. The task of Military Region 3 is to defend the area to the east, west, and south of Hanoi, a strategic area in the northeastern region of the fatherland. The border here extends for more than 100 km, and the coastline

Figure 1 displays a sequence of 40 grayscale images arranged in a 4x10 grid. Each image shows a handwritten digit '4' on a light background. The images are indexed from 1 to 40, starting from the top-left and moving right, then down. As the index increases, the digit becomes progressively more distorted, noisy, and less recognizable, illustrating the concept of 'corruption' in the dataset.

[illegible][illegible]

### 1. ~~Expenditures and~~ ~~Drinking~~ ~~ganges~~ ~~a~~ ~~one~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~towns~~

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

അതിനാൽ ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു വിഭാഗം ആളുകൾക്ക് മാത്രം അനുകൂലമായി പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്ന ഒരു സാമ്പത്തിക സമ്പ്രദായം ഉണ്ടാകരുത്. അതിനാൽ ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു വിഭാഗം ആളുകൾക്ക് മാത്രം അനുകൂലമായി പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്ന ഒരു സാമ്പത്തിക സമ്പ്രദായം ഉണ്ടാകരുത്. അതിനാൽ ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു വിഭാഗം ആളുകൾക്ക് മാത്രം അനുകൂലമായി പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്ന ഒരു സാമ്പത്തിക സമ്പ്രദായം ഉണ്ടാകരുത്.

1. **பொதுமக்கள்:** பொதுமக்கள் அனைவரும் இதைப் படிக்க வேண்டும். இது மனிதனின் உயர்வுக்கு உதவும் ஒரு நல்ல நூல். இதைப் படித்து, அதன் கருத்துகளைப் புரிந்துகொள்ள வேண்டும். இது மனிதனின் உயர்வுக்கு உதவும் ஒரு நல்ல நூல். இதைப் படித்து, அதன் கருத்துகளைப் புரிந்துகொள்ள வேண்டும்.

Dr. Sankaralingam, a prominent leader of the Tamil Nadu Sahitya Akademi, has been elected as the President of the Tamil Nadu Sahitya Akademi for the year 2018-19.

[illegible]

The above mentioned subject is the subject of a memorandum  
for information of the Board of Directors of the American  
Telephone and Telegraph Company. The said memorandum was  
submitted to the Board of Directors of the American  
Telephone and Telegraph Company on the 10th day of  
January, 1900, and was read and discussed by the  
Board of Directors of the American Telephone and  
Telegraph Company on the 10th day of January, 1900.  
The Board of Directors of the American Telephone and  
Telegraph Company has decided to accept the  
proposition of the American Telephone and Telegraph  
Company to purchase the property of the American  
Telephone and Telegraph Company for the sum of  
\$1,000,000.00, and to issue the necessary bonds  
for the purpose.

The above information reflects the fact that the Commission has been unable to determine the exact number of persons who have been arrested and held in custody since the beginning of the year 1960. The Commission has been unable to determine the exact number of persons who have been arrested and held in custody since the beginning of the year 1960.



colleges, campuses can be improved, and in common colleges, programs can be improved. The important thing is that the educational activities, training, and regular grounds of the reserve and self-defense forces must be maintained well. At the same time, plans must be developed so that if war breaks out, the reserve and self-defense forces can be expanded quickly in terms of numbers, organization, and equipment so that they can promptly carry out the various responsibilities, support combat, and defend the homeland. In production units, teams in which women are given to households and laborers, each team must have plans to coordinate military activities with productive labor, ensure that the reserve and self-defense forces receive an income, and ensure that there is an activity and training fund. Through building water conservancy projects, controlling flooding, building public projects, and so on, each team must organize things for the reserve and self-defense forces to receive political and military training or equipment for both new and old members and the cadres. The contents of the training must satisfy the requirements of the reserve forces, serve to maintain political security and social order in the homeland, and prepare the men to resist a war of aggression. Attention must be given to both technique and tactics and expertise in the use of the weapons provided and weapons manufactured locally. The men must be skilled in methods of fighting and monitor the struggles of militia and self-defense forces. Besides this, the militia and self-defense forces, especially those in border areas and on the islands, must be trained so that they grasp the contents, have a correct attitude, and are ready to expand quickly whenever the enemy threatens our territory rather than land or at sea.

In building reserve forces and militia and self-defense forces, the first requirement is to improve cadre organization. The localities in the military region have gradually improved the quality of the full-time cadres at the localities to a certain extent to arrange the ranks of full-time militia and reserve cadres based on speciality, and training has been provided each year. However, the reserve forces, the ranks of the militia organization cadres and full-time militia and self-defense and reserve cadres change frequently. The militia cadres at the teams have not been organized appropriately, and things are not stable because of adhering to the "party appoints, the group elects" system. Many people have low technical standards. On the other hand, the procedures and policies on these cadres are not unified, very little money has been invested in building and training activities, and there is an imbalance between the number of people in the reserve and militia and self-defense forces as compared with the number of people in the unorganized age group who are not participating directly in militia and self-defense forces or reserve forces. Thus, unified stipulations must soon be promulgated in organizing and deploying the ranks of local military organization cadres and full-time militia cadres at the teams, especially those engaged in commercial and militia and self-defense

activities, in order to ensure maximum management efficiency, and ensure immediate and long-term expansion. At the same time, there must be policies and measures that regulate the standards for each activity and for each target subordinates to the reserve and the militia and self-defense forces in order to ensure social fairness with respect to rights and obligations and to ensure that each person, particularly each reserve and each member of the militia and self-defense forces, has high political awareness and a stable economic life and improves so that he can fulfill the military tasks.

### Students—the Problems Faced

QUETZIL 780 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in *Communist No 11, Nov 89 pp 61-66, 65*

(Article by Chu Thai Thanh)

[Text] Our country now has 91 colleges and higher schools with 1,215,000 students (in Hanoi alone, there are 20 schools with more than 30,000 students). During the past several years, in difficult economic conditions, expenditures to support training and maintain the lives of the students have been very small, and the money has not been provided on time. Many dynamic and creative schools have exploited their potential in providing instruction, in organizing living conditions, and in maintaining political security and social order. But in general, not enough attention has been given to student work. The ideological situation, living conditions, and the students' concept of struggling to study and train are pressing problems.

The material and spiritual lives of the students, particularly boarding school students, are very difficult. In 1986, students received scholarships of 110 dong. To purchase just 17 kg of rice cost 85 dong. By 1989, the scholarships had increased to 11,250 dong, but that was enough to purchase only 17 kg of rice and 1 kg of salt. Although expenditures are small, there is a lack of cash to pay the scholarships and purchase rice on schedule. At many schools, payments are one to two months late. The quality of the rice is very bad, transportation costs are high, and "luxury" are high. That is without mentioning that each time that cash is withdrawn, the schools lose 10-15 percent. Students require a minimum of 21,000 dong a month to live on, but they receive a scholarship of only 11,250 dong. Their diets lack sufficient protein, fat, and green vegetables. On the average, they receive only 1,537 calories a day although the minimum standard is 2,300 calories a day. Thus, students lack proper nutrition. This situation is becoming very worrisome.

There is also a shortage of housing for students. On the average, each boarding school student has only 2.15 square meters in the north and 2.17 square meters in the south. One-third of the houses of the students are grade-4 houses that should have been torn down a long time ago. Many of the bamboo houses and secondary projects are very dilapidated. Shortages of electricity and electrical blackouts are common. There is not enough water for

contamination in household use. There is a lack of interval order. At many schools, from the living quarters to the corridors, bathrooms, stairways, upper stories, bathrooms, and clinics, there is a lack of proper sanitation. Some people have observed that students live in filth. A number of students have called the "matter" of a shabby life, struggling to eat, sleeping tardily, studying normally—love it all.

Their spiritual lives are very dull. Many schools lack the minimum means of mass information. There are no books, magazines, or radio speakers, and there are no cultural, arts and letters, or club activities. The small amount of money that the state provides for literary activities (eight percent of the scholarship) is often withheld and used for something else, and so how can students have a rich spiritual life?

In the face of the above difficulties, some students have become pessimistic. They have lost their will to struggle, their confidence in the union and party, and their communist ideals. They are confused about socialism in the face of the reform practices in other socialist countries and see only the weaknesses as compared with the capitalist countries. Many people are worried and do not have any faith in renovation when they see that the results are not always as desired and when they see that the cadres have not changed very much, the laws are loose, and negative phenomena are pervasive. However, students have not boldly struggled against the negative phenomena. They have not zealously participated in the renovation of the country. Their shame at living in a heroic country that is still poor and backward is not so great that they are resolved to contribute to making the people rich and the country strong. Furthermore, a number of students continue to lead a free and easy life. They gamble and drink. Although they are poor, they waste money. They slight their studies and act shamelessly in life. A large number are concerned mainly about obtaining possessions; few think about making contributions. They demand rights but do not realize that they have obligations as citizens and students. Their spirit of being independent and of making progress has declined seriously. They consider themselves to be the "surplus people of society" and as "secondary citizens." At many boarding schools, the students have a very poor concept of self-government. They live in disorder and violate the rules and regulations. Some students use foul language and like to quarrel. They get in fights and injure and sometimes even kill someone. They disrupt public order and security and commit crimes. Some students engage in smuggling, theft, and prostitution.

During the past several months, at a number of colleges, there has been a collective reaction on the part of the students. For example, 300 students at Can Tho College marched from their dormitories to the chancellor's office to demand electricity and scholarships. Almost 1,000 students at the Quang Ngai Higher Teacher's School held a demonstration to demand that the local authorities protect them and punish the ruffians who had entered the school and attacked students. In the collective dining

hall at the Communications College, almost all of the students refused to eat breakfast or lunch in order to demand that the school do something about living conditions and the other problems. In the wake of a fight between guards at the Ky Hoa Park and four students, 600 students from the Medical College and the Ho Chi Minh City Polytechnic College linked in the defense of their friends. Students from the Ho Chi Minh City College of Economics requested in talk by telephone with the chancellor and asked that the final examination in political economics be abolished.

Students have made many legitimate requests, such as their request that the local authorities protect them and punish local gangs who threaten and attack them, that the scholarships be paid on time, that electricity and water be provided and that minimum food needs be satisfied during the strained financial conditions, and that school authorities show them respect as citizens and students. In general, many student collectives have voiced their hopes calmly with an attitude of good will and proposed solutions in order to work with school officials in improving things. But in some places, students have applied collective pressure, and this has generated turmoil and caused confusion at the schools and in society. A number of students have gone to extremes because of their mistaken notion that only by holding demonstrations, as in other countries, will there will democracy and that only by applying pressure can results be achieved. Moreover, a number of evil reactionary elements are using the "fiery" nature of the students to create an opportunity to stir up trouble at a time when the country's economic and social situation is facing great difficulties.

What is the cause of this alarming situation? Is it because life is difficult? Is it because the state has been slow in renovating the policy mechanism? Are the students themselves to blame?

Students are targets who have been selected. In general, they have good cultural and physical standards, good political quality, and good morals. The party and state have given them training in order to turn them into scientific and technical, managerial, and professional cadres capable of building and defending the fatherland. These young intellectuals are patriotic and nationalistic, and they have a spirit of bearing hardships and overcoming difficulties in order to study. In the renovation campaign, students want to implement the policies on reforming training and renovating management, particularly the training curriculum, contents, and methods. Students want the state to re-examine the investment policies and increase the budget for education in order to improve the material and spiritual lives of the students and provide the schools with additional materials and equipment—libraries, instructional materials, laboratories, workshops, and so on—in order to improve the quality of the instruction, satisfy the growing and varied needs of production and work, and exploit their talents. Students want their teachers to evaluate them fairly. They approve of the policy of classifying and sorting

students during the educational process and of awarding scholarships on the basis of classroom performance instead of giving everyone an equal amount.

Students have many valuable characteristics such as self-confidence and loyalty to society. They are deeply concerned about how to develop the country, and they are in agreement with the renovation line of the party. The majority of students live a simple and wholesome life. They have self-respect and conduct themselves in a dignified manner. As a dynamic and sensitive social class, students have the ability to explain things by reasoning. They can analyze things and respond quickly to many social phenomena. Like youths throughout the world, students here want to bring the country out of its poverty and backwardness quickly.

A constant worry of students today is what they will do after they finish school, especially at a time when staffs are being reduced and production in a number of places is stagnating. Reality shows that in Hainan alone, more than 3,000 students who have graduated from one of the 29 schools here have not yet found a job. Eighty-six percent of the students feel that after leaving school, to get a job you must "run." Students feel that they "have no say in anything." Many able students who did well in school have not been used, or they have been given jobs that do not match their talents or the training that they received. On the other hand, many students who did poorly in school and who have poor quality have landed "plum" jobs. There have been countless negative phenomena concerning this problem.

Students want the key leaders in the schools to become deeply involved in the lives of the students. They want them to avoid bureaucratic and remote methods and bureaucratic centralism, and they hope that they will stop listening to people who lack a spirit of responsibility and a concept of service, who have an authoritarian attitude, and who have caused trouble for students and do not respect the civilian-student individuality of students. Students want to be treated like adults. They want to be treated like educated people, intellectuals of the future, and people who will play a decisive role in the scientific and technical revolution.

These are all legitimate hopes. But students must first become masters in organizing their lives and managing their education at school before they can become masters of the country and scientific cadres. It is the students who can decide their own future by relating their studies to productive labor and scientific research. That is not just a guideline for improving the quality of education in accord with the requirements of educational reform. In today's situation in which life is very difficult, that is also an important condition in order to contribute to stabilizing the lives of the students and building and expanding the material base of the schools at a time when the state's funds for education are limited.

Students are becoming an urgent social problem, but this problem cannot be solved immediately or in an all-round

manner at a time when there are many other basic socioeconomic problems. This is another problem that will take time to solve. But no matter how difficult the situation becomes, the efforts of the agencies concerned and of the people responsible are the decisive factor in bringing out positive changes in student work.

Above all, many weaknesses in managing and training students must be overcome. For many years now, the regulations on controlling students have contained points that are no longer appropriate, but prompt action has not been taken to revise the regulations. The regulations on awards, discipline, scholarship, scholastic evaluation, tests, and the awarding of degrees all bear the mark of "average-ism." They have not motivated the students to study. Regulations that stimulate students in study and train must be developed and used widely. This includes evaluation and control regulations, regulations to classify and order students in order to have a basis for giving scholarships, and regulations on awarding various types of certificates (red certificates and green certificates) and finding suitable jobs for students who have studied and trained well. The talent encouragement fund must be expanded using many sources of aid. Each year, the ministry and the schools must evaluate and award prizes to the outstanding scientific research projects of students in the natural sciences, social sciences, technical sciences, agriculture and forestry, and medicine.

The thing that must be given attention now is that some students have lost faith in the future of the country and in renovation. The state must implement policies to train and use scientific and technical cadres and provide jobs to students after they graduate. The first thing is to provide jobs for the tens of thousands of students who have graduated and soon implement the "lead out" of training. Equality in selection will do much to stimulate the students in their studies. Students must become more concerned about the educational problems. They must have a clear idea of what their rights are, what the constraints are, and what obligations they have. For their part, students cannot just make demands of the state and regard the state and their schools as owing them something. They must also make high demands of themselves.

In the face of today's difficulties and problems, political and ideological education in the colleges cannot be slighted or totally ignored as has happened recently. Education that teaches ideals, morality, and a way of life, vocational education, and education that teaches about honor and the responsibilities of students and about democracy and social fairness must be strengthened. The contents and instructional methods used to teach courses on Marxism-Leninism must be renovated, and there must be many more political activity forms. This includes such things as informing students about the current situation both here and abroad, holding debates to clarify opinions about education and jobs in conditions in which a multi-faceted commodity economy is developing based on socialist directions, and correcting state subsidies and average-ism thinking with respect to

scholarships, classification and entrance, and job searches after students graduate.

Democracy must be expanded among the students. At the same time, students must be made to see that democracy requires leadership and that democracy must be based on criticism based on the principle of democratic centralism. The schools must coordinate things with the union organizations to mobilize the students to implement the new policies relating to students. Rules and regulations must be formulated to maintain democracy, openness, and social fairness in all elements related to the rights and obligations of students. The self-government rule of the students and mass organizations at the schools must be manifested. Students must be taught about the law. Students must not be allowed to fight and stir up trouble at school or in society.

Scientific research and production labor must be promoted, and the raising potential of the scientific and technical cadres, means and equipment, and service, secondary production, and animal husbandry organizations must be explored in order to have additional funds for education and improve the lives of the teachers, cadres, workers, civil servants, and students.

Students are the main target, and they hold the central position in the college system. They are the future masters of society. We cannot remain indifferent to the face of the unusual phenomena occurring among some students today. With the efforts of the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education, the teachers and schools, the families in which the schools are located, and the students, in school year 1966-1967 the student education will certainly change for the better and create a good tendency for the future.

**A. Violation**

UNKNOWN Name TAP CHI (LTHU) DAN in 1980s  
No 11. Nov 89 pp 87-88

(Article by Nguyen Tien, not translated)

**Don't Say Anything Damaging**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 11, Nov 89 pp 69-70

[Article by Nguyen Thanh Ha; not translated]

**Still a Bright Flame**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 11, Nov 89 pp 70-72

[Article by Tran Dinh Chinh and Le Le Lien; not translated]

**Regulating the Market Using Economic Measures  
Is Essential**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 11, Nov 89 pp 72-74

[Article by Xuan Nguyen; not translated]

**The Cambodian Situation and the Prospects of  
Southeast Asia**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 11, Nov 89 pp 75-79

[Article by ; not translated]

**The Comments Made by the Two Nha Trang  
Masters Are Worth Discussing**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 11, Nov 89 pp 80-82, 88

[Article by Phan Lang; not translated]

**The New Economic Policy—Lenin's Way of  
Connecting This to Socialism**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 11, Nov 89 pp 83-88

[Article not translated]

**END OF**

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14 Aug. 1990